

1: Burrows--3
116, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The population of Ifalik in 1947-8 was about 250. While we were there it was actually a few less than that most of the time, because of almost continual visiting on Woleai, and the absence of two young men in Yap, one training with the medical officer there, the other studying to be a school-teacher. The ship that took us away brought these two back to the island.

Of the 250, 108 were male, 142 female. The excess of 34 women and girls amounts to 13.6%. Reasons for it are not clear. More travelling among the men, and some marrying and settling on other islands may have something to do with it. But there were also some husbands from other islands on Ifalik. Loss of a canoe at sea would nearly always cost the island more men than women, but canoes are not lost often enough to account for all the disparity between sexes."

"Much of the daily activity of the atoll is carried on by, or on behalf of, permanent groups organized on the basis of common residence, or kinship, or both. In the discussion of these that follows, the source of the specific figures given here and there is a census by households, taken during our first days on the island. A rather thorough collection of genealogies, made later on by Spiro, revealed some inaccuracies in the census. So most of the figures represent the consus [sic] as corrected by the genealogies."

"Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifalik would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree, and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifalik in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falālap island was treated as a unit, but Falārik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falārik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifalik women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan membership [sic] of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifalik may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

1: Burrows--88-89
116, 618, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

	<u>Falarik</u>	<u>Rauau</u>	<u>Falālap</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kovalū..	2	25	17	45
Sauvelārik..	8	15	21	44
Mangaulevār..	20	11	23	54
Rapevelū..	0	12	6	18
Sauwēl..	7	12	4	23
Kailangailūk..	9	12	2	23
Bwēl..	0	0	11	11
Kailangalualea..	0	0	2	2

The general rule is clear, --that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falālap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her [89] daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household."

"One of the striking characteristics of the social organization of Ifalik is the prevalence of adoption. Spiro worked out an estimate of the number of people in the population less than 20 years old. (As they do not keep track of chronological ages, this had to be based on relative ages.) The total came to 81. Of these, 32, or 39.5% had been adopted. A corresponding percentage for the older people was not worked out. (This would have been more difficult as adoption among them is less widely remembered.) However, as we see no reason to suspect a change in the prevalence of adoption, the estimate for the younger people probably indicates fairly well the proportion of adoptions in the population as a whole.

A request for a child is usually made before its birth. A childless mother (or even one who has children, but wants another) will ask a pregnant woman for her baby. Such a request may be refused, but custom exerts pressure in favor of granting it. Negotiations for adoption may also begin after the birth of a child, when someone takes a fancy to it. Although the negotiations seem to be conducted by the women, their husbands share in a decision about [103] giving or taking a child. In talking about adoption with men, adopted children were commonly referred to as the vam (adopted child) of the adopting father.

The adopting parents prepare to feed the mother after the birth of the child, in order that she may have plenty of milk. The adopting mother makes a special planting in her taro patch. When the expectant mother goes to the birth house to be delivered of the

child, the adopted father goes fishing to provide food for her. Traditionally, he is expected to 'keep the fire going in the earth oven for 10 days', in order to feed the mother. Actually, the earth oven, the ancient way of cooking, is only used nowadays for cooking in greater quantities than usual, as when a turtle or large fish is caught. If a child is requested after his birth, the adopting parents are still under an obligation to give food, which then takes the form of a present to the biological parents.

Acquiring a new set of relatives by adoption does not mean renouncing the old ones. When adoption is within the lineage, it is only the parents who are changed, joint family and clan remaining the same. This is said to be the preferred kind of adoption. But the rule is not always observed. Adoption even from another clan is not uncommon. Six cases were noted in my preliminary census. Spiro's genealogical study later revealed many cases of adoption of which I was not told when taking the census, so adoptions without the clan are undoubtedly much more numerous than that.

When adopted into another household, a child's home is primarily with its adopting parents. But it knows perfectly well who its original parents were, visits freely with them, and may spend the night at their house whenever it cares to. When adopted into another clan, it acquires something like a double clan membership. It may not marry either in the clan into which it was born or in that into which it was adopted.

One of the functions of adoption is to express and reinforce good-will between two

1: Burrows--102-103

116, 597, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3

Ifalik

families. Another one, obviously, is to continue a lineage which otherwise would become extinct. "

2: Damm et al. --185-186
116, 162, 361

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

There are villages on the main island Faraulip and on Pix; but Hambruch found that the third island Ead was uninhabited, and only stone pedestals overgrown with plants and abandoned taro fields gave evidence that it was formerly settled. The colonies belong to a chief and two sub-chiefs. On Faraulip there are eighteen dwellings, four blood houses and one spirit house. [CS: Omission of the table describing the residents of each one, page 185-186] [186] So in this colony there were 22 men, 28 women, 17 boys, 11 girls; a total of 78 persons, in addition to 14 who were at Yap at the moment. The total population was therefore 92.

On Pix Hambruch found 17 dwellings, 14 cookhuts and 2 spirit-houses; with 15 men, 24 women, 10 girls, 13 boys, or 62 persons all together. There was also the abandoned post of the Japanese merchant. Hambruch's survey resulted in the following table:

1. and 2.	<u>oue e rūx</u>	4 men, 5 women, 1 girl, 1 boy
3.	<u>nanūefat</u>	1 man, 2 women, 1 girl, 2 boys
4.	<u>materemēijūr</u>	3 men, 4 women, 2 girls, 3 boys (the house planks were "sewed" together with a rope)[187]
5.	<u>fareiān</u>	1 man, 4 women, 2 boys
6.	<u>orifāra</u>	2 men, 2 women, 2 girls, 2 boys
7.	<u>oripēi</u>	1 man, 2 women, 1 boy
8.	<u>xateubūr</u>	2 men, 2 women, 2 girls, 1 boy
9.	<u>ralūn</u>	1 man, 3 women, 2 girls, 1 boy.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263
116, 361, 162

(1909-10) 1927

Woleaians
Elato

There were on Elato 26 farmsteads with 19 permanent dwelling and sleeping houses and a number of primitive mat-houses. The population consisted of 87 persons. In addition there were two Wólea families whose members lived alternately in Elato or in Wólea, and there were finally 180 typhoon-refugees from Wólea.

4: Krämer--30-31
116, 361, 162

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-13
Elato

List of Houses on Elato

In the main they are primitive huts since no real reconstruction work has been done since the typhoon of 1907.

1. Etsatiù, bush hut
2. Kũ ũei, birth hut
3. Cooking house, māl ũm, which at the same time is used as sleeping quarters for menstruating women.
4. House for women in childbed, im a fătšu...
5. Ilaroéi, visitors from Oleai
6. Bũŏl i bũgi, visitors from Oleai
7. Tsũiërās, visitors from Oleai.
8. Fazefāl, 1 ♂ (♀ died)
9. Faliŏp, 3 ♂, 3 ♀, --, 1 girl
10. Im mo gitigit
11. Legóŭria, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
12. Fāl e gílĭau, 1 ♀
13. Gitoŭ, 4♂, 2♀, 2 boys. It is owned by Oleai islanders from Uazagor, who also have property and a house there, and who at times live on Oleai and at times on Elato
14. Păuŭl, 3 ♂, 4 ♀, --, 1 girl

The cooking house is built from the hut found on deck of a ship-wrecked boat.

Stone foundation of the former "great house" maifürz.

Remnants of the former "great house" -- eāur e lāp.

15. Olegešārs, 5 ♂, 5 ♀, --, 1 girl
16. Nogūr, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
17. Lugāl; Japanese trading station, now deserted
18. Uōlēl, people from Pāu i ēl come here
19. Kātogālū, 2 ♂, 2 ♀, 1 boy and 1 girl
20. Kolūng, 1 ♂, 1 ♀
21. Uōlipār, 4 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, --
22. Kūsorōlo, 4 ♂, 4 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
23. Kāti e fāl, house of the chief, 4 ♂, 1 ♀, --
24. Rolegorāl, belongs to 23

On the house there is a drawing of a vulva, māk e boār.

25. Matal ie ēāl, is inhabited only at the time of the mosquito plague since then a fresh wind blows there
26. Merekam. Birth hut, house for women in childbed and menstrual lodge of the visitors from Oleai. [31]

4: Krämer--30-31

116, 361, 162

(1909), 1937

Woleaians-3

Elato

Property units: 13 ♂ 41

Buildings: 26 ♀ 32

boys 7

girls 7

total 87

The true old Elato natives
are about to die out.

Only the people settled on Elato have been included in the enumeration. Not listed are the Oleai islanders--numbering about 180--who since the typhoon of 1907 have found shelter, and who live very closely together in miserable huts. They intend soon to return to Oleai.

6: Senfft--54

116, 162, 731

(no date) 1905

Woleaians

Lamotrek

The total population of Lamutrik is almost exactly 200, and the number of men and women is approximately the same. A very old man from Lamutrik told me that the island was uninhabited until about 60 years ago. A typhoon and a strong tidal wave had destroyed almost all the inhabitants as well as the plantations. A few of the survivors went to Oleai to get canoes, and the others used these to emigrate to Yap, Saipan, Truk, and other islands with which they were familiar. Some of them later returned, after the vegetation had been renewed.

6: Senfft--54
116, 162

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The total population of the Oleai Atoll is 661; the number of women is by far the larger.

7: Senfft--194
116, 162

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

There are 52 men, 51 women, and 40 children on Flarik Island, 28 men, 27 women, and 22 children on Flalap Island, and 24 men, 19 women, and 18 children on Imoei, that is, a total population of 281. There were a few cases of skin diseases and some of elephantiasis.

7: Senfft--194

116, 162

(No date) 1904

Woleaians

Faraulep

Of the three islands, Faraulip, Pig, and Eat, only the first two are inhabited. There are 21 men, 23 women, and 19 children on Faraulip, and 17 men, 22 women, and 19 children on Pig, that is, a total population of 121.

7: Senfft--194-195

116, 162, 174

(No date) 1904

Woleaians

Aurupik

The total population consists of a single family, 48 people in all. They are all attractive, healthy people. [195] There are 17 men, 18 women, and 13 children. The head of the family, a native of Jap by the name of Malai, told me the story of their origin. About 45 years ago, he and two other men from his island had gone to Palau; they lost their course and were stranded on Aurepik, a distance of five hundred nautical miles. Aurepik at that time had a large population. One of the two men with him died and the other made an attempt to sail back to Jap but was never heard from again. He himself remained on the island and married there. Once the entire population went on the customary expedition to Olea; his wife had just given birth to a child so that he and his mother-in-law remained behind to stay with her. The expedition never arrived in Olea and was never heard from again. About a year later a tidal wave swept over the entire island of Aurepik and destroyed all the vegetation so that for a long time he lived only on crabs and shells. His wife had born him nine more children who, when they were older, married natives from Olea and brought them back to the island.

9: Senfft--13

116, 164, 162

(1903) 1904

Woleaians

Lamotrek

The census showed 68 men, 64 women and 68 children, altogether 200 persons; there had been about six deaths in the course of the year, and as far as can be judged from the description, three died from consumption and two from dysentery. What I saw of diseases there were two people suffering from elephantiasis, one blind man, two persons with eye-diseases (one of which could see only at night), one woman with a saddle-nose and two children with abnormally swollen abdomens; lues and gonorrhea are said not to be existent.

9: Senfft--14
116, 162, 145

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

Looking at the statistics of these islands we notice the disproportionately great number of the female population as compared with the male, on the other hand the proportion of children to grown-ups is not unfavorable if we take into consideration that only children up to eight years have been counted. The very low percentage of young girls, though, is conspicuous; girls, who according to their build and expression could not have been more than sixteen years old, already showed traces of age.

9: Senfft--14
116, 162

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

A census taken on the islands of the atoll brought the following results:

<u>Island</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Olemari	41	40	50	131
Raur	12	10	7	29
Palian	15	20	13	48
Oleai	45	88	50	183
Mariom	5	15	12	32
Taganlap	17	21	14	52
Seliap	26	38	46	110
Falabis	25	40	11	76
Total	186	272	203	661

12: Lutke--326

116,162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians

Lamotrek

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 100 male adults on Namourrek and Elato.]

12: Lutke--326

(1828) 1835

Woleaians

116, 162

Woleai

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 350 male adults on Ouleai.]

12: Lutke--326

(1828) 1835

Woleaians

116, 162

Olimarao

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 20 male adults on Olimarao.]

12: Lutke--326

116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians

Aurupik

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 30 male adults on Eourypyk.]

12: Lutke- -326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 150 male adults on Ifalouk.]

12: Lutke--326

(1828) 1835

Woleaians

116, 162

Faraulep

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 60 male adults on Farrollap.]

37: Keiyosei--45-46

(1929-30) 1930

Woleaians

116, 162

Woleai

We arrived at Angaur. [46] On the island there are about 250 Japanese, and 500 native people from different islands. All of them are engaged in the mining.

122 but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with
 123 Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into
 a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen
 of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The
 English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a
 special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

648 By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down,
 and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was
 sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and
 contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling
 by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing
 boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering
 around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It
 began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote
 Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

125 Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed
 —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list
 of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of
 us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a
 complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had every-
 thing straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of
 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations
 in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just
 a word.

805 The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know
 162 exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words
 197 for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young
 man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old
 women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the
 island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be
 exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group.
 Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907
 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our
 visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

163 Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she
 had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

114 We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, [193] it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

133 The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because [137] all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

133 The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

361 The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of 162 Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two. 592

361 The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we 423 tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings 592 included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

∞∞ The households varied greatly in size, from one which included